Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

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Reuther Joins In Witch Hunt Attack On Ford Local

DETROIT, March 12 — Like a jackal pouncing on a wounded prey, Walter Reuther, president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, today swooped down on Ford Local 600 four hours after the rabidly anti-labor House Un-American Activities Committee concluded its smear-attack hearings on the local, its officers and members.

Local 600 officers were ordered to appear before the UAW International Executive Board next Friday to "show cause why an administrator should not be appointed to take charge of the local union." The "show cause" order grew out of charges before the witch hunt committee that Local 600 was "dominated and controlled" by "communists."

Reuther seized upon these charges to accuse the officers of Local 600 of "violating" the UAW constitution barring "communists" from holding office and causing "irreparable damage" to the local. Ford Local 600, largest local in the world, has been in the forefront of the opposition to the Reuther administration since the last UAW convention. The Reutherites have been gunning for the leaders of Local 600 ever since.

WANT MORE VICTIMS

When the House Un-American Activities Committee opened its hearings in Detroit it was with the announced purpose of doing a hatchet job on Local 600. While a number of UAW locals denounced the witch hunters for their unbridled attack on union and Negro militants, Reuther remained silent. Carl Stellato, president of Local 600, sent the committee a three-page letter demanding that he be called as a witness but the labor-baiters "indicated they were not prepared to hear Mr. Stellato." They were interested only in "friendly" witnesses or potential victims.

Yesterday, Reutherite international representative Elesio Romano testified that "the Communists and their supporters were in full control of the Ford local's general council, its executive board and its weekly newspaper, Ford Facts." He said, however, that president Carl Stellato, vice president Patrick Rice, recording secretary William R. Hood and financial secretary William G. Grant were not, to his knowledge, members of the Communist Party. However, the testimony of the Reutherite informer was designed to provide the basis for a purge of Local 600 officers for "narboring communists."

While the immediate target of the witch hunt is the progressive leadership and membership of Ford Local 600 the aim of the inquisitors is to undermine and destroy the independent labor movement. Reuther knows this. Yet, in his factional frenzy to eliminate the opposition to his bureaucratic rule he aids and abets this crime against the organized labor movement. Ford Facts, Feb. 16, quotes Reuther's own words on the intent and purpose of the red scare:

REUTHER ONCE SAID

The bosses, Reuther once said, having failed to smash the unions by pitting white against colored, Protestant against Catholic, American-born against foreign-born, etc., are trying a "new stunt." They are raising a new scare, Reuther once warned, "a red scare."

"They pay stools to go whispering around that so and so, usually a militant union leader, is a red. They think that will turn the other workers against him. What the bosses really mean, however, is not that he is really red; they mean that they do not like him because he is a loyal dependable union man, a fighter who helps his union brothers and sisters and is not afraid of the boss.

"So let's all be careful that we don't play the bosses' game by falling for the red scare. Let's stand by our union and fellow-unionist. No union man, worthy of the name, will play the bosses' game. Some may do so through ignorance, but those who peddle the red scare and know what they are doing, are dangerous enemies of the union."

Whatever else one might say about Reuther, he can't be accused of "ignorance" of what he's doing!

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Dobbs, Clarke Back Meeting On Civil Rights

Support Conference Against Smith Act

NEW YORK, March 13 — Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, and George Clarke, editor of Fourth International, today announced that they have submitted their names to the growing list of sponsors for the Citizens Emergency Defense Conference to be held here on March 16.

Dobbs was one of the first victims of the Smith Act. In 1941 he was tried and convicted together with 17 other members of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO in the first Smith Act trial, held in Minneapolis.

Farrell Dobbs has been named as the proposed Presidential candidate in the 1952 elections. His proposed running-mate is Grace Carlson, also convicted under the Smith Act in the Minneapolis trials.

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

The emergency conference has been called for the purpose of organizing "a movement dedicated to the defense of the men and women now being prosecuted under the Smith Act and the consideration of the problems created by a new Alien and Sedition period."

Endorsing the purpose of the conference, Dobbs said:

URGES SUPPORT

"We urge every labor, Negro and liberal organization concerned with the need to preserve the Bill of Rights to join in this movement.

"It is good that the CIO, Americans for Democratic Action and similar groups have denounced the Smith Act and called for its repeal or modification. But such opposition to that thought-control law is not enough unless it is accompanied by active measures to defend the victims of the law.

OPPORTUNITY TO FIGHT

"The Citizens Emergency Defense Conference stresses the need for 'a powerful movement to unite people of varied opinions in defense of the constitutional rights of those now facing prosecution.' It therefore offers an opportunity for all who are against the Smith Act to show they really mean business about fighting the witch hunters."

The March 16 conference will be held at the City Center, 135 West 55th St., at 1:30 P.M. At 7:30 there will be a public session to hear and act upon reports from the aternoon conference. Individuals as well as organizations can attend the conference.

DON'T MISS

How to Fight The Smith Act

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Medina and the $100-Billion Trial

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General's Secret Diary Reveals U.S. War Plans

Military Official Urges, "Hit Below the Belt!" with Sneak Attack against Soviet Union

By Joseph Keller

While Truman and Acheson broadcast over the Voice of America their alleged desire for "peace," a U.S. military big-shot has accidentally spilled the beans again about American imperialism's real warlike intent and methods.

"War! As soon as possible! Now!" and "We must start by hitting below the belt" are some of the sentiments voiced in the just-exposed diary of Maj. Gen. Robert W. Grow, former United States Military Attache in Moscow.

Revealing excerpts from Grow's diary, the authenticity of which has been admitted by Pentagon officials, are contained in a book called, "On the Path to War, Notes by an English Officer," published in East Berlin by English writer Richard Squires.

STORY CONFIRMED

Someone "believed to be a Soviet agent" stole the diary from Grow's hotel room in Frankfurt, Germany, photographed it, and then returned it, according to Brig. Gen. Frank Dorn, deputy chief of Army Information, who confirmed the copyrighted story on the diary that first appeared in the Washington Post.

The purloining of Grow's diary occurred in June 1951 while Grow, then stationed in Moscow, "was attending a top-level intelligence conference in Frankfurt" of U.S. military attaches "from such sensitive spots as Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Bucharest, and Belgrade," reported the United Press on March 7. The Army, it is revealed, is concerned not because of Grow's war sentiments but because "it was not known what other secret documents may have been microfilmed and stolen during the super hush-hush meetings, the Army said."

What Grow wrote in his diary and what is being circulated with devastating political effect throughout Europe does not appear to disturb the Pentagon brass. For Grow's views, in the broad sense if not in detail, reflect the thinking of the top U.S. militarists. Grow's diary, in fact, gives us an X-ray of the U.S. military mind.

WHAT GROW WROTE

Here is what he wrote, in part, on war with the Soviet Union:

"27 March, 1951 — Threw a minor bomb-shell by reading our paper which definitely estimated action this year or before July 1952 by all forms of warfare, including Europe. It was backed up

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Brass Hats Hinder Appeal of Pfc

The army lowered an iron curtain around the case of 20-year old Pfc McConnell, purple heart veteran of Korea, who, according to his father, had been without sleep for three days and nights when he fell asleep on sentry duty. Not allowed to testify at his court-martial, McConnell was sentenced to ten years. Although army officials promised a lawyer, rotained by McConnell's family, the necessary papers for an appeal, he has been unable to get them. California newspapers report "a communications road block" around the military prison where young McConnell is held.

SWP Presidential Ticket Is Filed in Pennsylvania

MARCH 10 — Petitions to put the Socialist Workers Party's Presidential and state candidates on the state ballot were filed today in Pennsylvania, at the same time that the Michigan SWP reported that it had reached the legal minimum required in that state. A presidential and local ticket was also filed in New Jersey last week.

PA. FILES PETITIONS

A total of 11,012 signatures were filed in Pennsylvania, naming Farrell Dobbs for President, Grace Carlson for Vice President, Ann Chester for U.S. Senator and Clyde Turner for State Treasurer. Because of legal technicalities they will appear under the name, Militant Workers Party.

A few incidents of redbaiting hostility were reported when Pennsylvania campaigners met in Philadelphia last Saturday to notarize the petitions and exchange experiences. But these were tiny exceptions among the thousands of workers who showed sympathy for a socialist campaign and a working class program of opposition to Big Business wars, inflation, Jim Crow and corruption.

In addition to meeting the stiff legal requirements — at least 9,000 signatures in 21 days, at a time of year when weather conditions are most unfavorable to canvassing — the campaign workers had to contend with a good deal of harassment from the police, especially in Philadelphia (but in Allentown too).

ANNOYED BY COPS

Calls were made from the SWP campaign headquarters to the Philadelphia police protesting such interference and calling attention to the legal nature of petition work. But the cops kept on picking up canvassers, detaining them in police stations, subjecting them to brutal handling and stupid questioning. This went on until almost the last day of the campaign.

Then, characteristically, when the campaign was about completed, SWP headquarters got a letter from the newly-appointed Commissioner of Police, Thomas J. Gibbons, a Democrat, expressing regret over the interference and assuring the SWP committee that "police will be instructed not to interfere with your coworkers in the future."

In Michigan partial returns show that 9,400 signatures have been collected so far. The SWP is seeking a total of 12,000, which would include a safety margin of an extra 2,000. The filing date is still over a month away.

MICHIGAN CAMPAIGN

Petitioners report that they are still getting a good reception in spite of the witch hunt hysteria generated in Michigan by the House Un-American Activities Committee. People are signing because they want "to help the party get its rights," or because "it's for the working people" or because they want to see a party on the ballot that stands for bringing the troops home from Korea.

NEW JERSEY ROSTER

In New Jersey the following parties filed nominating petitions for President besides the SWP: Progressive, Socialist, Socialist Labor, Prohibition and "Poor Man's Party." For the first time in many years the Socialist Party is not running any candidates for state or congressional office; final decision about its presidential campaign will be made at a national convention in May.

ADA AFFILIATE OPPOSES ILLINOIS ELECTION LAW

By Marjorie Ball

CHICAGO — The Independent Voters of Illinois has officially announced that it is "firmly opposed in principle to Law 1030 which places limitations on the rights of minority parties in the state of Illinois."

Opposition to Law 1030 continues to grow as its content becomes known. Publicity resulting from the Socialist Workers Party's suit in federal court against Governor Adlai Stevenson and major law-enforcement officials of the state has exposed the undemocratic character of this law. The SWP is demanding that the law be declared unconstitutional and that an injunction be issued prohibiting its enforcement.

Law 1030, passed unanimously by the Illinois State Legislature and signed by liberal Gov. Stevenson, makes it virtually impossible for minority political parties to get on the ballot in statewide elections. The law stipulates that it is illegal for anyone to circulate a petition outside his county of residence. Violators are subject to $1,000 fine or six months imprisonment or both.

The Independent Voters of Illinois is the Illinois affiliate of Americans for Democratic Action, liberal left-wing of the Democratic Party. Their opposition to this law stands in direct contrast to liberal Democratic Gov. Stevenson who signed his approval of the law. It is apparent that when it became necessary to protect his party's interests, his liberalism did not prevent him from approving a fascist-like law.

The significant thing about the IVI stand is that this organization was one of the chief supporters of Stevenson in the 1948 election. Even his own political followers are now compelled to protest the law he signed.

Activities of the Campus Committees Against 1030 expanded this week. The first mobilization of representatives of the student body at the University of Chicago made plans to carry their work into all quarters of the campus. The Roosevelt College Committee set up a booth to collect signatures and donations from students to help in the fight.

SUPREME COURT ASSISTS DRIVE TO POLICE STATE

By Albert Parker

The Supreme Court decisions on March 3 and 10 show once again that the highest court in the country is a defender of the witch hunt, an apologist for thought control and a collaborator in the Big Business conspiracy to subvert the Bill of Rights and American democratic traditions.

No assault on freedom of speech, press or assembly is too reactionary or filthy to be denied the stamp of approval from Truman's court. In the past, they used to be noted for their conservatism and unwillingness to permit change. Today, a majority of the politically-appointed hacks in black robes are distinguishing themselves by the eagerness with which they assist in the destruction of rights recognized for over 150 years and by the slimy rationalizations they use to justify the efforts of police-statesmen to turn back the clock of history.

Even if they never commit another service for the ruling class, these well-paid shysters have already earned for themselves as much contempt as their predecessors on the bench who upheld such institutions as chattel slavery and child labor. Previously they had approved the non-communist affidavit of the Taft-Hartley Act, refused to halt the "loyalty" purge and "subversive" blacklist, and declared the Smith Act constitutional.

With their latest decisions, they have nominated themselves for, and secured places on, the all-time all-American team of judicial reaction.

FOUR RANK DECISIONS

By a vote of 5 to 4, they ruled that the Attorney General has the right to arrest and hold without bail any person charged with being an "alien communist."

By 6 to 2, they authorized the deportation of any non-citizen who had ever belonged to a "subversive" organization, even if he left the organization before a 1940 law forbidding such membership went into effect.

By 5 to 3, they upheld the "contempt" sentences handed down by Judge Medina against six defense attorneys at the first Communist Party trial under the Smith Act.

By 6 to 3, they approved the New York Feinberg Act to purge teachers with unorthodox views.

These far-reaching assaults on civil liberties of both citizens and foreign born were "justified" by "the present state of the world," as Justice Jackson phrased it in one majority ruling. This is another way of saying that the court was guided throughout, not by democratic tradition or precedent, but by its subservience to the needs and demands of Washington's bipartisan war preparation program and by its desire to help suppress all opposition to that program.

UNPRECEDENTED POWER

The decision giving the Attorney General the right to hold people without bail grants powers to that official which he has never had before. He can use it to intimidate the foreign born into acting as stool pigeons and in-

(Continued on page 2)

Truman's Brass Hats Break Another Rail Strike

By Jerry Warren

Invoking "Government by Injunction," the Truman administration broke the strike of 5,000 members of three railway brotherhoods which for three days tied up the N. Y. Central system west of Buffalo and other lines in the mid-West.

Leaders of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and the Order of Railway Conductors refused a demand of Army officials to call off the strike only to give in two days later to the same order when it was issued by a federal judge.

The union heads had great difficulty in forcing the striking railroaders back to work. Opposition from the ranks was encountered in almost every union local. In Toledo, Ohio, one of the nation's most important rail centers, 500 strikers shouted down the unions' back-to-work order and voted to form a new union to continue the strike. Similarly, in Elkhart, Indiana, strikers defied both the government injunction and their officials' orders and continued the walkout.

RUNNING BATTLE

The continuing of picket lines in Toledo and Elkhart means that the giant N. Y. Central system remained paralyzed west of Buffalo. This strike is another engagement in the running battle for the 40-hour week which the rail workers have been conducting against the corporations and the government since 1948.

The demand for a 40-hour week — with no reduction in pay or worsening of working conditions — was long ago won by the main sections of organized labor. The rail monopolists have bitterly opposed this demand and have used all the stalling devices of the Railway Labor Act. When the unbelievable red tape and delay of the mediation procedure has been exhausted and the rail workers have voted strike action the federal government has invariably stepped in on the side of the corporations and broken the strike.

In 1948 Truman ordered the Army to seize the railroads to prevent a scheduled strike. The pretext for the seizure was that the U.S. was still in "a state of war" — although Japan had surrendered two years before. The Army "seizure" meant that presidents of railroad companies were given Army commissions as brigadier generals and colonels and told to run their companies as before and the workers were told to be good, obedient privates, who, of course, had no right to strike.

By 1950 agitation for the 40-hour week with no reduction in pay or worsening of working conditions had become irresistible in the unions. A Truman-appointed board recommended the 40-hour week with a cut in take home pay. Union officials were unable to jam this down the throats of their angry members and sporadic strikes broke out. On August 25, 1950, Truman again ordered the "seizure" of the railroads by the Army, on the pretext that "a state of war" with Japan still existed. It is on this legal fiction — that the peace treaty with Japan hasn't yet been ratified by the Senate — that the present-day army "seizure" of the railroads is based.

Despite the "seizure" and court injunctions rail workers tied up the railroads by reporting "sick" by the thousands. Only tremendous pressure from Truman and promises that the 40-hour demands would be settled in talks at the White House brought about the end of the "sick" strike in December 1950.

After a year and three months of negotiations, in which the unions offered and the companies rejected arbitration of the differences, the union leaders called last week's strike. True to form. Truman immediately jumped to the rail corporations' side with his army order and injunction.

To complete the picture of where the government stands, it should be recorded that in the four weeks ending Jan. 18 the government gave the railroads "certificates of necessity" on $205,000,000 of projected new facilities and improvements, and in the week ending Feb. 2 certificates on another $55,000,000. These certificates are gifts through tax deductions of all or a large part of the cost of plant expansion. How badly the rail barons need this can be seen from the fact railroads surpassed all other companies in dividend increases for 1952 (40 percent) over 1951 which was Big Business' most profitable year in history.

March 13 — After defying the army, a federal injunction and their own union leaders for a day, railroad workers in Toledo, Ohio and Elkhart, Indiana reluctantly called off their strike. In Toledo striking engineers, firemen and conductors listened for hours to the appeals and threats of union officials and then voted to return to work by a mere margin of six votes. Five hours later the strikers in Elkhart voted by a slim margin to resume work.

Medina and the $100 Billion Trial

By Art Preis

Unknown to most people and reported scantily only in the financial columns, the greatest trial in U.S. history is going on in New York City's Foley Square Courthouse. It is the federal trial for conspiracy in violation of the anti-trust laws of the 17 largest investment banks, which represent financial interests controlling firms with more than $100 billion in assets.

This $100-billion trial is presided over by Judge Harold R. Medina, who ran the famous nine-month witchhunt trial of the 11 Communist Party leaders in this same Foley Square courthouse back in 1949. Then his vindictive demonstrations and language toward the defendants and their attorney made daily headlines.

Last week his name again came to public notice when the Supreme Court upheld the contempt citations and jail sentences he handed to six lawyers for the eleven Stalinists. But Justices Felix Frankfurther, William O. Douglas and Hugo Black issued dissents. Douglas said it is difficult to determine whether the lawyers "conspired to drive a judge from the bench or whether the judge used the authority of the bench to whipsaw the lawyers, to taunt and tempt them and to create for himself the role of the persecuted." Black found that Medina had held an attitude of "hostility and distrust" toward the defense attorneys in the Smith Act case.

A DIFFERENT ATTITUDE

But toward the defendants and their attorneys in the case involving the billionaires, including the Morgan, Mellon, Rockefeller and Harriman interests, Judge Medina is all sweetness and light, except for an occasional stern fatherly admonition to — the prosecution.

"Instead of having to invoke repeatedly the authority of the Court to keep provocative lawyers on the track," observed Paul Hefferman in the N. Y. Times of Feb. 4, 1951, Judge Medina this time "must sit humbly by," although "there can be no doubt of his being thoroughly at home in the trial atmosphere that surrounds him this time." He has even "encouraged the pointed pleasantries exchanged by rival counsel."

This "atmosphere of scholarliness, wit and courtroom amenities" has prevailed for the more than four years that this case has been underway, interrupted by the year Medina put in as judge over the Stalinist case. Although at the start of the anti-trust case Medina avowed "there is not going to be any four or five years of calling witnesses and putting in documents," four years later on March 8, 1952, he was complaining about the "waste of time" in the case.

PLEADS "IGNORANCE"

Throughout the long years of the investment trust trial, the Judge has professed a singular ignorance of the business under his scrutiny. One is almost led to ask what such an ignoramus is even doing on the bench, let alone presiding over such a case.

"If I had more background in this anti-trust litigation it would be very helpful. But I haven't any, because I know nothing about it. I want to learn something about it," he confessed in an informal courtroom chat with defense lawyer Arthur Dean in May 1948. "I want to learn it gradually. . ." He has learned it so gradually indeed that nearly four years later, on Feb. 8, 1952, he spoke of himself as "a stranger such as I am, who knows nothing about the investment banking business."

This, we fear, is rather too modest. Judge Medina is not a total stranger to the personages and institutions over whom he sits in such "humble" judgment.

He was appointed a federal judge on the recommendation of a corporation lawyer associated with the defendants He was assigned to the investment trust case by a superior judge who subsequently became an officer of one of the corporations under indictment.

Truman nominated Medina to a judgeship in the U.S. District Court in May 1947 at the request of the New York Bar Association and its then president Harrison Tweed. Mr. Tweed, who stood at Medina's side when he was sworn in and first donned his judge's robes, was chief counsel for the Chase National Bank and a legal adviser of Equitable Life Assurance Society. Officers of both these corporations are listed as "co-conspirators" in this case. Tweed's law partner is Thomas I. Parkinson, Jr., son of the head of Equitable Life.

JUDGE MEDINA

Senior Judge John Clark Knox named Medina to preside over the investment trust trial. Shortly thereafter, by one of those strange coincidences that seem to haunt this case, Judge Knox was named a director of Equitable Life, a "co-conspirator." He was also on the Board of Trustees of the Union Dime Savings Bank, New York, along with Frederick C. Ecker, Chairman of the Metropolitan Life Insurance company, whose officers are also accused as "co-conspirators"

This, however, does not end Medina's acquaintanceship with the defendants before him — not by nearly a half million dollars worth. In fact, he is indebted to the sum of $465,000 in loans to financial interests involved in the trial. The following facts are a matter of legal record.

MATTER OF LOAN

Back in 1930, Medina acquired 13 tenements as part of his share in legal fees in the million-dollar Chapman will case that lasted 11 years. (Despite his complaints, Medina seems to thrive on long cases.) He and his real estate associates then sought mortgages loans, to build two modern apartment houses on the sites of the tenements, in which he and his junior law partner held 53 1/3 per cent interest.

They set up as the Medmak and Medpick (note the derivation of the name from Medina) companies, wholly owned by the present judge and his junior law partner, to act as the borrowing agents. In May 1937, they got a $250,000 loan and another $50,000 in September 1937 from General Realty & Utilities Corp. This corporation is controlled by Lehman Bros., one of the chief defendant investment firms on trial before Medina today.

These $300,000 loans were later transferred to the Dry Dock Savings Institution, which holds them now. Dry Dock is not on trial. But it is dominated by Harriman Ripley & Co. and the National City Bank, both close to the Morgan interests. On Dry Dock's Board of Trustees is Pierpont V. Davis, who is also president of Harriman Ripley, the real boss of which is W. Averell Harriman, former Assistant to the President of the U.S. and now Director of the government's Mutual Security Agency. The Harriman firm is one of the main defendants in the trial and Davis, who was a member of the Dry Dock bank's finance and executive committee that extended Medina's notes when they fell due and reduced his interest charges, is named as a "co-conspirator."

On June 13, 1935, Medina borrowed $140,000 from Equitable Life — a "co-conspirator" you will recall — and another $25,000 in June 1936. The loans, reduced to $150,000 in 1940 and transferred to the New York State Insurance Fund, were originally endorsed by Winthrop W. Aldrich, Chase National's chairman and a director of Equitable Life, and Thomas I. Parkinson Sr., president of Equitable Life. Both these gentlemen, financial backers of Medina, were named "co-conspirators."

None of the aforementioned facts, of course, were considered grounds by Medina for self-disqualification in the present trial of financiers or their friends who aided him.

If, in spite of these facts, you fear for the fate or the financial rulers of America now arraigned in Medina's court, please put your mind at ease.

The complaint in the case was filed in a revised form. The man responsible for the revision was a member of the Justice Department's Anti-Trust Division, John W. Sonnett. He had long represented one of the major defendants, Dillon, Read & Co., before he was loaned to the government for "antitrust" work. He has since returned to his services for Dillon, Read, whose former president was James V. Forrestal, late first Secretary of the Defense.

URGES GET-TOGETHER

Under the complaint as revised by Dillon-Read's man Sonnett, the government is asking the judge only to issue an order restraining the defendants from continuing certain illegal practices. If Medina should find them guilty, he cannot levy jail sentences or even fines.

Medina's own attitude toward the $100-billion defendants was voiced early in the trial — on March 29, 1948, to be exact — when he urged the prosecution to give the defense lawyers more facts of the prosecution's case. ". . . There isn't any reason why you cannot sit down with the lawyers for the other side," he opined. "It isn't like trying a criminal case."

What Judge could find anything criminal about bankers who lent him a half-million bucks?

Supreme Court Promotes Drive To Turn U.S. into Police State

(Continued from page 1)

formers by threatening to jail and hold them indefinitely if they refuse to "cooperate." The court minority dissented from the majority opinion that such power was "not arbitrary or capricious."

Justice Black denounced the majority decision for making deportation possible if "a subordinate Washington bureau agent" favors it. He said denial of bail under these circumstances is a "shocking disregard" of the First, Fifth and Eighth amendments to the Constitution.

In the case of the six lawyers, the minority members of the court criticized Medina for his provocative behavior to the lawyers, declaring that Medina should have turned over his charges of "contempt" to another judge and that lawyers should have had a trial by jury.

FEINBERG LAW

The Feinberg Law, adopted in 1949 over the opposition of all progressive groups and even many conservative ones, bars anyone from employment in the public schools who allegedly advocates, or belongs to an organization that advocates overthrow of the government by force and violence. Former members of such organizations also are barred unless they can prove "membership has been terminated in good faith" — that is, by agreeing to act as informer against other members.

The New York Board of Regents is authorized to draw up a "subversive" blacklist. It can use the same one that is issued by the Attorney General, and does not have to explain why it is excluding any groups on its list, or offer them a chance to defend themselves against the accusations. This opens the way to the same arbitrary procedure and violation of civil liberties that are now practiced by the Attorney General in the federal "loyalty" purge.

As Justice Douglas put it in his strongly-worded dissent: "The finding as to the 'subversive' character of the organization is made in a proceeding to which the teacher is not a party and in which it is not clear that she may even be heard." At any hearing before which she may be hailed, "the finding as to the 'subversive' character of the organization may not be reopened in order to allow her to show the truth of the matter. The irrebuttable charge that the organization is 'subversive' therefore hangs as an ominous cloud over her own hearing."

In the majority opinion, supported by all the Truman appointees, the Supreme Court struck crippling blows not only at the rights of New York teachers and students but also at the rights of every American. For the arguments of the majority are deliberately presented in such a way as to justify the witch hunt as a whole and thereby to encourage its spread to many fields outside the schools.

Doesn't the Feinberg Law plainly deprive teachers of the right to free speech or assembly? Of course not, replied the Supreme Court: It deprives them of the "privilege" of working for the school system, but not of free speech or assembly. "They are at liberty to retain their beliefs and associations and go elsewhere."

Under this shabby, Jesuitical distinction between "privileges" and "rights," teachers have democratic liberties (like anyone else), but only so long as they do not attempt to exercise them. As soon as they try to use their rights, they can "go elsewhere." Elsewhere, of course, they cannot be teachers, but that does not bother the Supreme Court. All it cares is that it has provided a formula for promoting the witch hunt at the same time that it has paid lip service to civil liberties.

This aspect of the court's decision will be cheered by the McCarthys high and low. If a job as a teacher can be twisted by legalistic sleight of hand into a "privilege" that can be withdrawn when the employee uses his right, then why can't the same thing be done for every other job, whether public or private? "Go elsewhere" if you want to use your rights, can become the court-sanctioned rallying cry for purgers in every sphere. It will certainly be welcomed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce which, two days before the court's Feinberg Law ruling, cited the government purge as a precedent for "private business" not to employ "Communists and the various fringes of fellow travelers and dupes" in any branch of industry.

Also applicable to fields far beyond the schools was the court's explicit endorsement of the principle of "guilt by association," which directly flouts the tradition that a person is held to be innocent unless proved to be individually guilty. "From time immemorial," said the court, "one's reputation has been determined in part by the company he keeps" and therefore it is now held permissible and even constitutional to penalize and drive one out of his job for keeping company that the ruling class and its political agents do not approve of.

One-time liberal Justice Jackson voted with the Trumanite majority of the Court, and Justice Frankfurter, while he voted against, did so only on the ground that it was too early to make a judgment of the Feinberg Law. Justices Douglas and Black (who also voted against the majority ruling that the Smith Act was constitutional last year) seemed almost like radicals by comparison. Yet, when their dissent is analyzed, it becomes clear that, far from being radicals, they are actually conservatives in the sense that they want to conserve the traditions and liberties of the past.

They denied that the state has the constitutional power to "place its employees in the category of second-class citizens by denying them freedom of thought and expression"; charged that "the present law proceeds on a principle repugnant to our society — guilt by association"; showed how it will "raise havoc with academic freedom" and "inevitably turns the school system into a spying project"; produces "a 'party line' of the orthodox view," conformity of thinking and punishment of persons for their views.

JUSTICE DOUGLAS

Black added that this was one of a growing number of laws that "rest on the belief that government should supervise and limit the flow of ideas into the minds of men. . . Public officials with such powers are not public servants; they are public masters."

NO LONGER FASHIONABLE

Such ideas as Douglas and Black express today are no longer fashionable among the ruling class and its politicians, who are building a police state under the guise of fighting police statism. In fact — and this shows how far the witch hunt has gone — Douglas and Black would find it impossible to be confirmed to the Supreme Court by the U.S. Senate if their nominations were made today (assuming that Truman would ever nominate people holding their views).

"Go elsewhere," the Senate would say, and the press would applaud. "Go elsewhere — you can express your civil libertarian ideas all you want, but they don't fit well with the 'privilege' of sitting on the Supreme Court."

And that would be the honest truth.

I. F. STONE CALLS FOR FIGHT ON SMITH ACT

CLEVELAND — A recent meeting attended by 400 persons here provided additional evidence that more and more people are beginning to recognize what The Militant has been saying for years: civil rights must be defended for all, regardless of political affiliation, color or creed.

The meeting, sponsored by the Cleveland Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, heard I. F. Stone, New York Compass columnist, speak on the Smith Act cases.

USED AGAINST SWP

Stone pointed out that the government first used the thought control act in peace time against the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis. "A lot of Communists were foolish enough to applaud its use then against the Trotskyists," Stone said, thereby preparing the way for the government to use it against the Communist Party today.

Demonstrating in detail how all of our traditional civil rights and established legal precedents are violated in the Smith Act cases, Stone said: "If the government gets away with the conspiracy charges, you don't have to be a member of the CP, the SWP, or the SP to go to jail. They also call New Dealers red, and are gunning for all of us. . . ."

The thing to do about it, he said, is to continue to hold meetings, oppose the reaction, utilize our civil rights, and refuse to be intimidated. This course represents the feeling of the American people, he added, citing the fact that Cleveland is the twelfth city in which he has spoken at such meetings since June, "and there have been no tomatoes yet."

ALL GROUPS THREATENED

Jack Day, local civil liberties and labor lawyer, discussed the loyalty oaths and procedures as violations of our civil rights. As an example that the government does not distinguish between radical groups he cited the case of a client of his who was charged with being "a member of the CP and the SWP" at the same time. Attacking the witch hunt for its intimidation of all but the most hardy, he said, "I am interested in a freedom in which a man of just NORMAL BRAVERY can be free!"

Marty Richardson, reporter for the Cleveland Call and Post, speaking on "The Current Status of the Negro Struggle for Equal Rights," pointed out that no amount of legal gains in this field amount to anything so long as there is no enforcement, and in the general climate of attacks on civil rights in the United States and in colonial countries today, Negroes cannot hope for defense of their rights apart from the defense of the civil rights of all persecuted groups.

The American Way of Life

INCIDENTS ON TRAIN AND BUS

I spend almost 11 hours every week on buses and trains. That's the equivalent of about one working day out of every seven. In the course of a year it runs to around 50 working days. Of course the time is not altogether wasted. You can do a certain amount of reading, if your eyes hold up. In addition, you get a chance to watch people, hear discussions and observe incidents that sometimes have social significance. There were two such incidents in the last year that bore some relation to each other:

Around this time last year, when the U.S. troops were being driven out of North Korea on the heels of MacArthur's "home-by-Christmas" promise, I was on a train between New York and Newark. At one stop, when a number of people got on, two men, one of them a Negro, made a dive for two adjoining seats. In the process they must have jostled each other, and when they sat down they found they were crowded (because the other two people on that section of the train's seats were both fat). They both squiggled around a little trying to fit in, and looked at each other angrily.

TAUGHT A LESSON

"You don't have to push," said the white. "I'm not pushing, you are," said the Negro. This went on for a minute or two. Then the white got nasty: "You wouldn't act this way if you were down South, would you?" he asked in a low tone. This infuriated the Negro so much that he almost sputtered. Seeing this, the white repeated his remark, again in a low tone. The Negro then said, so rapidly that his words tumbled over each other and he was almost incoherent:

"Yeah, it's you — you're the kind — you're the ones who — how do you like what your kind are getting over there in Korea from them Chinese — you think you're so good — the Chinese, they're teaching you a lesson —" The white got up, as though his dignity had been offended, and stood for the rest of the trip, while the Negro sat there trying to cool off.

The other incident occurred last Saturday on a crowded bus in Newark. Two men in their fifties or sixties were crowded together, holding onto straps. One was a white, somewhat drunk and talking to himself loudly; the other was a white-haired Negro. The drunk began to accuse the Negro of pushing him. I couldn't catch everything he said, but I heard the word "black." At this point a young, blonde-haired fellow, surely not yet 20, with one arm strapped up under his jacket, stepped in between them. He was obviously trying to break it up, but did it without saying anything.

BELLIGERENT DRUNK

The drunk then turned his attack on the young fellow, telling him to watch who he was pushing, and complaining that there are too damn many young whipper-snappers around, butting in where they're not wanted, etc. Finally, the young fellow told him to be quict and not to make a nuisance of himself. "I know plenty of colored people who are better than whites, including people like you," he added, employing a defensive formula.

This got the drunk madder than ever, although he forgot about the Negro with whom he had started the argument in the first place, and he got louder and more violent. The bus driver told him to shut up or he'd put him off the bus, but that did no good. Then the old drunk charged at the young fellow and hit him in the face. The young fellow could have murdered him with one punch, but evidently did not want to hurt him, and held him off with his one hand.

The driver stopped the bus, saying: "My God, why do I always have to get one of these guys? Listen, you, I'm going to throw you off in the snow if you don't quiet down and behave yourself" At this, a number of passengers, all whites, said: "Yes, throw that trouble-maker off." The driver asked the young fellow to move away from the drunk, and the incident ended, with the drunk talking to himself in a maudlin fashion about the whippersnappers, including bus drivers.

I don't want to attach too much significance to these little incidents, or to draw cosmic generalizations from them. But to me they illustrate a couple of thing: 1. The Negro people are keenly aware of the relation between the colonial revolutions against the imperialists and their own struggle for equality, and sense that the setbacks given the imperialists operate to the benefit of the fight against Jim Crow. 2. A new generation has grown up in the last ten or twelve year, a generation that does not like Jim Crow and white supremacy and is inclined to show its sentiments actively when the chance presents itself.

These thoughts may not be adequate compensation for all those hours on buses and trains, but they are some satisfaction anyhow.

— GEORGE BREITMAN

GEN. GROW'S DIARY REVEALS PLAN FOR SNEAK ATTACK ON SOVIET UNION

(Continued from page 1)

by capabilities and reasons. Amb. accepted our paper as sound and worthy of serious consideration."

Later — "War! As soon as possible! Now!"

"29 March — It seems to me the time is ripe for a blow this year."

"5 February — We need a voice to lead us without equivocation: Communism must be destroyed!"

Grow's date (1951) may have proved a little premature for the Pentagon, State Department and White House, but his main objective — an atomic attack on the Soviet Union — is no less their aim than his.

Nor does Grow propose any nice, clean, ethical attack on the Soviet Union. He has in mind a "sneak attack" like Pearl Harbor. He wrote:

"Although the military services are primarily concerned with military weapons and methods, we must understand that this war is total war and is fought with all weapons.

"We must learn that in this war it is fair to hit below the belt" and again, "We must start by hitting beyow the belt. This war cannot be conducted according to Marquis of Queensbury rules."

EVERYTHING GOES

Everything goes, from spying to lying.

"Our intelligence agencies must strive ceaselessly to find and report points of strength and weakness as well. We must employ every subversive device to undermine the confidence and loyalty of Soviet subjects for their regime. We must cause them to lose faith in Communist leadership.

"Anything, truth or falsehood, to poison the thoughts of the population."

Grow didn't waste his time in Moscow, his diary indicates. He spied out all he could of military value and smuggled it out of Russia through the diplomatic mail.

"Saturday, 27 January. A frosty fog reduced visibility to only a few meters, and consequently, did not go looking around today. **One or two letters and a report concerning local anti-aircraft positions in time to catch the diplomatic mail pouch."**

"Spent the entire afternoon with Thornal and Abbel exploring the southeastern part of the city along new streets. Did not find any anti-aircraft positions, but gathered a few valuable data concerning the terrain."

"Bush and I drove around three hours in the east and southeast during a snowstorm. And discovered three AA positions."

SELECTS BOMB TARGETS

At Rostov, Grow spent more pleasant hours, selecting potential targets for U.S. bombs.

"Took note of many license numbers of military vehicles. Saw some A.A. equipment (anti-aircraft artillery). Only bridge is R.R. (railroad) and is good target.

"The bridge here is best target in S. Russia," he confided to his diary. "This, together with bridge over Kuban River would cut off the Caucasus except for poor line to Astrakan which could easily be cut."

The Pentagon and State Department knew all about the exposure of Grow's diary and kept mum about it as long as they could. Gen. Grow "was recalled (from Moscow) because of the diary incident" on Jan. 24, reported the United Press on March 6.

KICKED UPSTAIRS

Naturally, with his diary in the Kremlin's hands, Grow was no longer of value in Moscow. But so little do Grow's views for an all-out sneak attack on the Soviet Union disturb the Pentagon mob, that they have assigned him to the Personnel Board in Washington which acts on appointments to the Regular Army, handles promotions and demotions for reserve officers, and supervises other personnel problems.

Some Congressmen have complained about the embarrassing incident. Rep. Sikes of Florida thought Congress ought to ask Grow some questions because "it was not at all smart of the general to keep a diary." But no criticism of Grow's sentiments.

Meanwhile, the Voice of America is trying to counteract the effect of Grow's diary on the European people who undoubtedly will find in it another confirmation of their suspicion and fear that Wall Street imperialism is deliberately preparing to bring about a third world war. On March 8, the Voice of America, which did not dispute the authenticity of the excerpts from Grow's diary, broadcast to the East European zone that Grow's opinions "bear no resemblance to American foreign policy."

But the people of Europe are more likely to believe the thoughts an American general confides to his "Dear Diary," than Voice of America propaganda that is trying to retrieve the cat which Grow has let slip out of the bag.

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The New Hampshire Primaries

President Truman's statement that presidential primaries are "eyewash" offended a number of New Hampshire Democrats and no doubt contributed to the defeat of Truman convention delegates by those favoring Senator Kefauver. But that does not change the fact that the presidential primary elections are eyewash — a hoax designed to fool the people into thinking that they play a decisive or even important part in determining who will get the nominations of the capitalist parties.

The truth is that in 31 states the Democratic and Republican convention delegates are chosen directly by the machines and obey the commands of the machines, not of the party members. In 17 other states, primaries are held, but in 15 of these the convention delegates are not committed to support the candidate they claim to represent; in Wisconsin they must support him only so long as he gets 10% of the convention vote; and in New Hampshire alone are they committed to keep voting for him so long as his name is before the convention.

This fully confirms the judgment of the Feb. 1 **U.S. News & World Report:** "Politicians, not voters, decide who gets a chance to run for President of the United States. The voters, every four years, as in 1952, only get a chance to decide which man, of those selected by the politicians, they prefer for the job." Behind all the ballyhoo about "grass roots democracy" remains the well-known smoke-filled room where a clique of political and financial bosses calls the tune.

Nevertheless, the Democratic primary is not altogether without significance. It shows that Truman is losing the confidence of a considerable proportion of the members of his party (either because they differ with his policies or because they feel that, despite "the miracle of 1948," he cannot win if he runs again). And that in turn serves to underscore the political bankruptcy and cowardice of the labor leaders.

While the average Democrat in New Hampshire is getting fed up with his own party leader, the AFL and CIO officials in that state went all-out for Truman in the primary, perhaps even more than the regular Democratic machine. While many Democrats now think it is necessary to get rid of the man who helped them to win a national victory in 1948, the labor leaders continue to tag along like obedient and faithful dogs behind the man who has broken more strikes than any other president in U.S. history and who has failed to make good on a single one of his many pro-labor and civil rights promises.

Labor has the power, in alliance with the Negro people, working farmers and youth, to cut right through the whole shell game of the two-party system and its flim-flam primaries by setting up an independent labor party that will really represent the interests of the majority of the people and run candidates chosen by and responsible to them.

The labor leaders refuse to use this potentially invincible political power. They prefer to remain bedfellows and captives of labor's enemies because they fear that independent labor political action would get out of their control and menace their own bureaucratic privileges. That is why militant rank and file unionists will themselves have to give the impetus to the labor party movement.

How to Fight the Smith Act

By John F. Petrone

Frank Rosenblum, general secretary-treasurer of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has an important article in the March 15 Advance on WHY the labor and liberal movements should fight the Smith Act. Without intending to, his article also poses the question of HOW to fight the Smith Act.

According to Rosenblum, the calls for the repeal of the Smith Act raised by the CIO, ACW, Americans for Democratic Action and other groups have raised a question in the minds of conservative union leaders and members, namely: Why do such organizations, "which abhor communists and communism," seek repeal of repressive measures which, "at the moment, seem to be directed against communists and communist suspects"? "Does not this play into the hands of the communists themselves?"

Rosenblum correctly explains why the Smith Act is a menace to the whole labor movement: It "is a piece of thought-control. . . It makes of the FBI and other law enforcement agents 'thought police.' . . . . Under the Smith Act, a man or a woman can be arrested and convicted for a book or a newspaper he has read, a meeting he has attended, a petition he has signed. . . It threatens the freedom to express an opinion. It threatens the freedom to think."

RECALLS CP ROLE

Then, in order to differentiate his position from that of the Stalinists, Rosenblum recalls the shabby role of the Communist Party in the first prosecution under the Smith Act, the Minneapolis trial of 1941, whose victims were members of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO truckdrivers union.

Rosenblum takes great pleasure in noting that the Stalinists did not support the victims of the Smith Act in the Minneapolis trial because of their political differences with the defendants, and in contrasting that with the position of the labor movement: "The trade union movement then, as now, saw the danger in the Smith Act. It fought for its repeal. Not that it loved the Trotskyists more or less than the Stalinist communists. It did not. . .

"When the Minneapolis trade unionists went to jail in the 40's under the Smith Act, non-Communist labor in America issued a solemn warning. We said: today it is the Trotskyists, tomorrow it will be the Stalinists, perhaps the day after it will be simon-pure trade unionists and liberals generally."

A VALID POINT

What Rosenblum seems to be saying to his fellow labor leaders is this: Don't imitate the Stalinists who refused to defend victims of repression merely because of political differences with them. If you do, you will regret it because your policy will permit the witch hunt to be extended so that eventually it may strike you down too.

This is a perfectly valid point. Nothing has plagued the Stalinists so much as the reactionary precedent they themselves set in the Minneapolis case, a precedent which the labor leaders now use against the Stalinists when they appeal for aid in defending their civil liberties.

But this raises another question, applying not as much to union leaders who refuse to fight the Smith Act as to union leaders like Rosenblum, who are opposed to the Smith Act:

What about you? If the Stalinists merit condemnation because they refused to aid the victims of the Smith Act, what about you? Are you aiding the present victims of the Smith Act? True, you denounce the Smith Act and demand its repeal. But how about the victims of this thought-control measure — are you defending them? Is it adequate to denounce the measure and not lift a finger to help the people who are being persecuted and jailed under it? How seriously will the witch hunters think your opposition to the Smith Act is when they can observe your persistent failure to give any material aid to their victims? When you oppose the Taft-Hartley Act, you don't confine yourself to demanding its repeal, but stand ready to aid its victims; why do you follow a different policy in connection with the Smith Act?

THE CIO STAND

Rosenblum has reason to be proud of the CIO's stand against the Smith Act during and after the Minneapolis case. But he should refresh his memory about the details. The CIO did not confine itself to merely advocating the repeal of the Smith Act. It also adopted resolutions condemning the prosecution of the 18 defendants, its leaders served on committees protesting the case, and its international locals by the hundreds voted moral and material support to help the defendants.

They not only fought the Smith Act but gave active aid to its victims. They were unable to prevent the defendants from being railroaded to jail, but their opposition to the prosecution was so vigorous, forthright and clear that the government found it expedient for several years thereafter to shelve the use of the Smith Act.

By all means, the CIO's policy toward the Smith Act in the early 40's should be revived. For that is the only real way to fight the Smith Act effectively: by working for its repeal AND by aiding its victims. If the labor and liberal leaders don't want to aid the present victims through committees controlled by the Stalinists or by non-Stalinist independents, then they should set up their own committees for this purpose. But they must help the victims in one way or another if they really want to stop the witch hunt.

Buffalo IUE Local Expels 9 Scabs; 203 Others Fined

BUFFALO — In a smashing anti-scab move, the membership of Westinghouse Local 1581 of the CIO International Union of Electrical Workers voted on March 2 to expel nine persons from the union and slapped big fines and long-term suspensions on 203 others. The punitive move stemmed from scabbing in the recent strike against the Westinghouse Electric Corporation.

It is significant that this stiff union action comes in a portion of the nation which was the original home of the Mohawk Valley strikebreaking formula, used in past strikes in this region at Remington Rand, Bell Aircraft, and Carborundum, and spreading from here to other parts of the nation. Those expelled or otherwise punished were being used by the company and the press in an attempt to revive this notorious strikebreaking plan.

EXPEL NINE

The nine workers expelled from the IUE were called "the most incorrigible and unregenerate strikebreakers" by the Trial Committee chairman. They were also barred for life from the CIO and all unions affiliated with it. These nine scabs not only worked, but attempted to get others to work as well.

The Trial Committee had recommended the expulsion of only 5 persons, found guilty of speaking publicly against the strike. However, a motion to expel 4 others, who were former union stewards and who were found guilty of using their influence to get others to scab, was proposed and passed. The Trial Committee chairman called the expelled scabs "the most conscious agents of the company. Their treachery is the deepest," he went on, "for they not only deserted the fight but they enticed others to follow their example."

OTHERS FINED

The membership voted $500 fines and 3 year suspensions against 22 others, called "the most flagrant" scabs, and $300 fines with 3 year suspensions against 159 others. Twenty-two who worked only a few days were fined the amount of the pay they earned, or $100, whichever is smaller. Four who worked but later quit to join the picket lines were pardoned by the membership, and their fines cancelled.

The suspended members will be required to pay their union dues during the entire period of their suspension, in addition to their fines, on pain of automatic expulsion should they become delinquent.

A motion to expel the entire 212 scabs was made from the floor of the membership meeting, but was withdrawn before it could be voted on. Roland Bryant, the union member who made the motion, said before withdrawing it:

"Every one of them should be expelled. Labor has one weapon and one weapon only to enforce its demands, and that is the strike. Anyone who works during a strike, whether it's for an hour, or for the entire time, is an enemy of labor and has no business in the union. These people crossed the picket line. They should be expelled."

HIT WSB STALL

The Westinghouse local also took action to protest the delay in ratification of a wage increase negotiated last October between the Company and the union. The same meeting which acted against the scabs also voted to have every shift quit work one hour early on March 4 to prod the Wage Stabilization Board, which was stalling the approval of the increase, into quicker action. These stoppages, planned as part of a company-wide union protest against WSB stalling, won quick action on the union's wage settlement.

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Threaten French People

Chairman Tom Connally (D. Tex.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (l.) and Sec. of State Dean Acheson at a committee meeting. Connally afterward threatened that France "must be told" to "do her duty" if she is to get more economic aid from the U.S. To the Senator, that "duty" is to cut the French people's already low living standards to support American imperialism's "European" army. As R. H. Shackford, Scripps-Howard writer, wrote on March 10: "The major problem is to get European parliaments — and thus the people — to follow the path blazed by their premiers and foreign ministers. . . that means giving up bread and butter for guns and planes."

POOR GETTING RICHER-- FACT OR FANCY?

By Harry Frankel

A fantastically distorted picture of trends in income distribution in the U.S. is presented in the March 5 **N.Y. Times.** The report starts with the claim that "the United States has undergone a social revolution in the last four decades, and particularly since the Thirties." The survey, intended to bolster faith in the possibility of "leveling" incomes under capitalism, selects and juggles figures cunningly and dishonestly to prove its false thesis.

FEWER POOR?

For example, the report claims that "the very poor have become fewer by two-thirds of their 1939 number." To prove this, it offers the following fact: that in 1939, slightly more than 40% of the family income units got under $1,000 in income, while in 1949, only a little more than 10% were under this same $1000 a year ceiling. This approach ignores facts which change the picture entirely:

1. 1939 was a year of extreme depression with at least 9 million unemployed, while 1949 was a boom year. Thus such a comparison is obviously unsuited to determine a long term trend.

2. This comparison assumes the equality of $1,000 in 1939 with $1,000 in 1949. However, the cost of living index was 70% higher in 1949 than in 1939. More important, this cost of living index is made up for moderate income families, while the very low income families with which we are here concerned spend a far larger portion of their total incomes on food and clothing, the items which rose the most. The Bureau of Labor Statistics food index stood at 95.2 in 1939, **while in** 1949 it had risen to 201.9. Thus it took $2,120.80 in 1949 to buy the same amount of food that could be purchased for $1,000 in 1939.

3. Hidden price rises that do not show in the index are not included. For example, rents were much higher in 1949 than the index shows. A large percentage of workers had to pay several months "bonus" to renting agents, and secretly pay more than the rent ceiling in order to get a "controlled" housing unit, do their own painting and repairs, etc., while in 1939, tenants were given far fuller maintenance plus one or two months "concession" (free rent) to induce them to take an apartment. None of this shows on the official index.

4. Taxes are not taken into consideration by the so-called "economists." A worker earning $1,000 a year in 1939 paid no income tax, while a worker earning an amount with an equivalent purchasing power in 1948 might have to pay a tax as high as a possible $232. In addition, local sales and income taxes not included in the cost of living index must be taken into account, and they rose sharply between 1939 and 1949.

5. Thus a family income of $1,000 in 1939 was equal to possibly $2,250 to 2,500 in 1949. However, facts show that exactly 40% of the income units of this country got less than $2,289 per year in 1949.

These exact factual details completely destroy the propaganda of the N.Y. Times report on this point. We see that the same 40% of the population that was bumping up against a $1,000 income ceiling in 1939 was in 1949 still under a ceiling of approximately the same purchasing power as in 1939.

A "social revolution" implies a great relative shift in income. To prove their claim, the economists would have to show that the bottom 40% of the population is getting a larger share of the national income today than it got in the past. This is precisely what the N.Y. Times analysis tries to do at one point, but in order to do it, an outright falsification is required.

The falsification is worked in this fashion: A chart is used to show that the bottom 40% of the people got a bigger share of the national income in 1948 than in 1939. This chart contains two bars, with the 1948 bar a little longer than the 1939 bar. No figures are given, and the chart is so rough and tiny that the exact size of the increase cannot be determined.

An examination of official figures shows that the increase was no more than 1%! It is not surprising that the "analysts" refrained from giving figures.

FIGURE-JUGGLING

However, this sneaky work proves on closer examination to be the least of the falsification. Here is a chart giving the actual trend of income for the poorest part of the population, compiled from reports of the National Industrial Conference Board, the Statistical Abstract, and the 1950 Census. The figures given are the percentages of the national income received by the lowest 40% of the population:

1910	19.8%
1918	19.4%
1921	15.7%
1929	15.5%
1934	17.4%
1937	14.0%
1947	14.0%
1948	15.0%
1950	12.0%

Here the trickery of the N.Y. Times report becomes very plain. Faced with the fact that an obviously declining percentage of the national income goes to the bottom 40% of the people, the report takes a single year (1948) when a plainly temporary rise of 1% is shown, and then tries to base a "revolution" upon that rise.

Lack of space prevents us from analyzing each specious and distorted "trend" alleged by the "analysts." However, the whole report has the same character as the samples given in this article.

The whole picture of trends of income distribution and ownership of wealth over the past four decades, as a matter of fact, shows exactly the opposite picture from that which the Times report seeks to paint. Both income and wealth have become enormously concentrated in this country since 1910.

* * *

A fuller analysis of this topic will appear in a forthcoming number of the Marxist magazine, Fourth International. — Ed.

A Good Novel About the Abolitionist Movement

By George Lavan

THE SIN OF THE PROPHET by Truman Nelson. Little, Brown & Co., 1952, 450 pp., $4.00.

* * *

Truman Nelson has written an excellent novel about the Abolitionist movement. Most of the great revolutionary figures of anti-slavery Massachusetts walk through the pages of **The Sin of the Prophet:** Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, T. W. Higginson. The focal point of the book, however, is the capture and return to the South of Anthony Burns under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

This was one of the great cases under the hated Fugitive Slave Law. Feeling ran so high in Boston that it was impossible for the government to return Burns overland. A special boat was chartered and U.S. Marines and militiamen equipped with artillery had to line the streets to the wharf to prevent Burns' rescue. The trial was a test of strength between the federal administration based on the slaveholding oligarchy with its Northern allies and the Abolitionists.

The Abolitionists thought they had failed because the might of the government succeeded in sending Burns back to slavery. Yet such was the demonstration of anti-slavery sentiment in Massachusetts over the Burns case that the cause of freedom won a moral victory and never again was there an attempt to extradite a fugitive slave from Boston.

INTENSIVE RESEARCH

This is no ordinary historical novel. Not only has Mr. Nelson done intensive research on the Burns case but he knows the Abolitionist movement and the politics of Boston in the 1850s. However, historical accuracy is not the book's sole merit. The author gives a picture of the organizational, programmatic and personal conflicts inside the great liberation movement of that day. Anyone who has had experience in the socialist movement or in a militant union will recognize the ring of truth in the problems and conflicts with which Theodore Parker and Wendell Phillips grapple in this novel.

The principal character of the novel is Theodore Parker, preacher, scholar and revolutionist. This great man, whose fame has unjustly dimmed with the passage of time, was distinguished for his intellectual and political courage. He smashed the dogmatism that was beginning to fasten itself on Unitarianism — pushing religion to its limits in an attempt to reconcile it with science and social evolution. As militant as the Garrisonians in his fight against slavery and racial discrimination, he did not join them because he saw that the building of an anti-slavery party — not political abstention and pacifism — would be the tool for eradicating slavery.

DANGEROUS FORM

The great objection to the modern rash of novelized biographies is that the author takes a historical figure and puts words into his mouth and thoughts into his head. On the basis of this presumption the author interprets and analyzes the motives, actions and character of his historic figure. Certainly the danger is overwhelming. What an open door for distortion and misrepresentation this can be! Of course completely objective biographies don't exist either. The most conscientious biographer interprets his subject, if not openly, then by selection of material, juxtaposition of facts, etc.

Nonetheless, biography has a minimum discipline, that vanishes with the novelized biography. This is all too apparent in the curse of novelized biographies by writers who sentimentalize, vulgarize or angle their subject. The author of **The Sin of the Prophet** does none of these things and he advances the only reason which can justify this literary form — that the feel, the complexities of the period and the movement can best be brought to the reader in the novel form. It is a tricky tool but Mr. Nelson handles it ably.

Among other things it permits him to give to the slave, Anthony Burns, — who in past records was merely a name — a convincing and moving personality. This also holds true for his portrait of the arch-politician and conniver, Benjamin Hallett, Democratic Party chieftain of Massachusetts, as well as for many other characters.

LABOR GROUPS PROTEST FRANCO'S EXECUTION OF 9 ANTI-FASCISTS

By Charles Hanley

Firing squads have executed nine Spanish anarcho-syndicalists sentenced by a military court in Barcelona last Feb. 7 because of their resistance to the brutal dictatorship of General Franco. This same court-martial sentenced two other anti-fascist Spaniards to 30 and 20 years imprisonment respectively and eighteen others to from six months to three years.

Most of the defendants were members of the CNT, the principal trade union federation of pre-Franco Spain. Though officially outlawed this union is still active.

BLOODY FRANCO

The Franco regime, which remains in power only by the use of naked force, is preparing further military trials of working class leaders and militants. A group of 27, accused of "subversive activities" in connection with the great general strike in Barcelona last March, is awaiting trial in the Ocana jail near Madrid. Other bloody trials have been held in Seville and Valencia.

The news that the savage death sentences had been carried out on the nine anti-fascists in Barcelona caused tremendous protests throughout Europe. Mass meetings in Paris of widely differing political organizations condemned the Franco butchery. In England the opening of a festival of Spanish songs and dances under the auspices of the Franco ambassador became a protest demonstration with the crowd shouting "Down With Franco the Murderer." In Brussels the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to which both the CIO and AFL are affiliated, protested the execution of the Spanish trade unionists.

These executions come at the time when the State Department and the American capitalist press are engaged in a campaign to paint Franco as an ally of the "democracies" for war against the Soviet Union and China. All the propaganda of former U.S. Ambassador to Spain Griffis and the Roman Catholic hierarchy that the Spanish regime has become more "liberal" is drowned out by the noise of Franco's execution squads.

LABOR OPPOSITION

Franco is using military courts to shoot and sentence his opponents. The war was driven underground in 1939 but the Spanish workers and peasants did not capitulate. Franco is aware of this. He knows the Spanish people sympathize with those who still actively resist his tyranny. Franco's secret police and military courts are trying to crush this resistance movement.

American workers must realize they share responsibility for the fate of their Spanish fellow workers in El Caudillo's prisons. Many more will die, many more will be tortured unless the American unions, instead of cowardly bowing to the State Department, organize a vigorous mass protest against Franco's terror and Washington's suport of the fascist butcher.

4th International Lodges Protest With Greece and Spain on Trials

The International Secretariat of the Fourth International, representing 35 working class organizations on all the continents, sent protest telegrams on March 1 to the Greek and Spanish governments.

The telegram to Greek Prime Minister Plastiras was on behalf of the accused in the Nikos Beloyannis trial. These members of the Greek Communist Party, who had been sentenced to death and then pardoned, were being retried with death sentences being asked by the prosecutor. (The court subsequently sentenced eight of the defendants to death.)

The telegram to the Spanish Government protested the sentences of the CNT members in Barcelona and of Raimundo Lopez. Also protested was the impending trial of Gerardo Baldris of the POUM, division commander in the Civil War, for whom a death sentence will be asked by the prosecutor.

Missouri Phone Workers Strike

By Lee Ryan

ST. LOUIS, March 8 — Union resentment against high-handed company tactics resulted in a walkout of telephone workers employed by the Southwestern Bell Telephone System. Employes of the St. Louis Western Electric Company joined in the walkout of union members affiliated with the CIO Communications Workers of America.

The work stoppage began after four St. Louis linesmen were docked $50 for refusing to work in the rain. Now in its fourth day, the walkout has spread to some 13 Missouri cities.

The St. Louis **Globe Democrat** said on March 8: "It appears fairly obvious that the spreading walkout of telephone workers is prompted by a more serious grievance than climbing telephone poles in the rain." The real cause is resentment against a policy of "tightening up" of operating rules by the company.

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By JAMES P. CANNON

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Detroit Witch-Hunt Hearings Create a Lynch Atmosphere

DETROIT, March 9 — All the scabs and labor haters, emboldened by the anti-red hysteria evoked by the House Un-American Activities Committee witch hunt, crawled out of their holes and began openly inciting lynch violence gainst good union men and women who fought for years in the forefront of the union struggle against the labor-hating auto barons.

Even the hangman's rope, symbol of Southern Ku Klux Klan lynch terror, was in evidence in Detroit auto plants, as veterans of the great sit-down strikes intimidated by the witch hunters and disoriented by the failure of the Reutherite administration to speak out against the union-busters, looked on in sullen anger. The company stooges had a field day until the stunned militants rallied to resist the spectre of vigilante terror unseen since the days of the open shop.

At the big Dodge plant on Monday morning, the hysteria whipped up by last week's House Un-American Activities hearing had grown so intense, that it gave rise to an almost unbelievable spectacle. A hangman's rope was paraded through the plant by several hopped-up bigots who rallied a group of 20 to evict two workers from the plant who had been accused of being members of the Communist Party.

CHIEF STEWARD FIRED

The company, feeling that even this show of lynch spirit was inadequate, fired Edith Van Horn, Dodge main Chief Steward and another worker on the trumped-up charge of distributing leaflets on company property. Heretofore, the distribution of leaflets inside the plant for all sorts of causes, — charitable institutions, union affairs, political campaigns, bond drives, etc., — had been an accepted practice.

The entire affair was clearly an inspired provocation. Reporters and press photographers were on hand in anticipation of the expected "incident." The FBI gum shoes and a representative of the House witch hunt committee were reported to be on the scene to "witness the patriotic demonstration." All of these champions of "law and order" arrived early. They seemed irked by the fact that it took from 7 a.m. to 2 p.m. for the company stooges to stir up enough of a hysteria to provide a few victims for a lynching spree.

But the witch hunters and their agents did not have everything their own way. Even at the Dodge plant, under a Reutherite leadership, the women represented by Edith Van Horn went on strike in protest against her discharge. Nor did the company-inspired hysteria find much support in the Dodge foundry with a predominantly Negro personnel. Reutherite president Art Grudzen of Dodge Local 3 did his bit for reaction by removing Negro steward Kirk Davis, named in the hearings as a "communist." This action brought such a furious attack on Grudzen by the foundry workers that he was forced to return Davis' stewards button.

Similar scenes occurred at Chrysler, Hudson, several GM plants, Briggs Conner, Dodge Truck, American Metal, Bohn Aluminum, and others. Such fratricidal disunity has not been seen in the Detroit auto plants since Homer Martin tried to sell out the UAW shortly before World War II.

For many years the entire labor movement, — AFL, CIO AND UAW — had denounced the Un-American Activities Committee and its predecessors as an anti-labor, anti-Negro and anti-civil rights outfit. Proceeding in this tradition, Ford Local 600 filled its paper, **Ford Facts**, with a running commentary on the union-busting history, background and role of the witch hunters. It recalled the record of bigot Rankin, jailbird Parnell Thomas and sensation-seeker Martin Dies, all past chairmen of the House Un-American Committee and all cut out of the same cloth as present chairman Representative Wood of Georgia.

Ford Local 600 prepared its membership to understand the role of the witch hunters as agents of the auto corporations and unscrupulous place-seeking politicians. Members of the local were warned against the splitting tactics of the professional red-baiters. The Un-American Committee concentrated its major attack on Local 600, its officers and members. Yet, despite all the hysteria, not one worker was ushered out of the Ford plant by any hopped-up company stooges.

The experience of the Ford workers, in the largest local of the UAW, shows clearly that whatever success the auto barons and their agents had in dividing the UAW is due entirely to the miserable, bellycrawling capitulation of the Reuther leadership. It was not until the failure of the Reuther leadership to speak out had threatened to result in widespread walkouts in protest against the lynch-inciters that the International officers intervened.

A number of local unions, following the example of Local 600, took measures to defend the witch hunt victims from the bigots. Resolutions were adopted by DeSoto Local 227 and Briggs Local 212 denouncing the House Committee. Locals 742 and 154 also took action at their membership meetings. Still others, like Local 306, mobilized their flying squads to put down any attempts at lynch law.

Meanwhile Reuther is playing his own crooked game. While calling on all UAW locals to safeguard the democratic rights of union members he is laying back waiting for his chance to strike a blow at the leadership of Ford Local 600. This is the meaning of all his double-talk. He has his own factional ax to grind and will not hesitate to sacrifice the interests of the union as a whole to his own petty bureaucratic schemes.

Reuther is already setting the stage for his own witch hunt attack on Local 600. In his wire to the locals warning against "unlawful attacks" on union members he says: "The constitution of our union offers democratic means for dealing with members who are guilty of conduct detrimental to the best interests of our union." This is both a formula and a threat to carry out a "legal" purge of the witch hunt victims.

Negro Family Fights to Keep Its New Home

By Lillian Russell

OAKLAND, March 8 — **The recent case of Sing Sheng, who let his white neighbors take a vote on whether or not he should live near them in South San Francisco, showed how NOT to win the fight against race prejudice. Now the San Francisco Bay Area has another case, involving Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur Gary, which shows the correct way to carry on this fight.**

The Gary couple and their seven children had lived in a crowded four-room apartment in Richmond for six years. Then they bought a new home in the Rollingwood tract of San Pablo. Because they are Negroes, they were not welcome to many of their new neighbors.

The Rollingwood Improvement Association offered to buy the house from them for $1,200 more than they had paid. The Garys turned down the bribe. They did not offer to leave it up to their new neighbors, as Sing Sheng had done. They decided to move in.

MOBS STONE HOUSE

The night before they moved, a rock was thrown through their window and a white cross was erected on their lawn. A brick was thrown through the window of the Negro real estate agent through whom they bought the house.

They went ahead anyhow. They were greeted by rocks and threats instead of a welcoming committee. A crowd of 150 gathered to protest their arrival the night they moved in, March 5. The Garys were joined inside the house by friends and a white neighbor, George Eldridge.

Rocks hit the house and cries rang out: "Go back where you came from!" "Get a paint brush and paint yourself white." When Eldridge went out to plead with them, they called him a "nigger-lover." When a white pastor arrived and read the Declaration of Independence to the crowd, he was jeered as "a phony preacher."

CROWD DISPERSED

The crowd did not disperse until 11 P.M. when Sheriff James Long finally arrived with 20 deputies.

A Militant reporter, visiting the Gary home the next night, found it bulging with friends and sympathizers from all over the Bay Area. A great many people are proud of the courageous stand the Garys have taken.

One Negro worker said: "Mr. Gary has made history by refusing the bribe and standing his ground. This is the only way to fight Jim Crow."

A high school girl said: "This is supposed to be a democracy. If this is so, why do such things happen?"

Mrs. Gary said: "We were promised adequate police protection but when there was a crowd of 150 outside and the rocks were flying, only two policemen were around."

She and her husband said it was a wonderful feeling when a few of their neighbors visited them and wished them well. People keep calling constantly, asking how they can help.

GET UNION SUPPORT

Most heartening was the solidarity and sympathy extended by unions in the Bay Area, including UAW locals 1031, 76 and 560, AFL Laborer's Union and others.

A constant vigil is kept at the house day and night by volunteer defense guards of from 6 to 15 men and women, Negro and white, who have been on hand for several days and will continue until it is certain that the family will be safe.

The Gary family knows that this kind of militancy and solidarity will help them win their fight.

Surplus Ship Steal

Ex-Congressman Joseph E. Casey (l.) of Massachusetts talks to U.S. maritime administrator F. L. Cochrane as they appear before Senate Committee probing series of surplus ship deals. Casey, part of group that turned $101,000 investment into $3,-250,000 profit, said deal was American free enterprise at work. Casey group was represented by law firm of Newbold Morris, recently appointed by Truman to investigate corruption in government.

REUTHER'S 'MIDDLE-WAY' SCREENS WAR SUPPORT

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES — Speaking to an audience of about 400 at a meeting of Americans for Democratic Action in Los Angeles on March 2, Walter Reuther summarized his position by saying that he took a stand "straight down the middle," against McCarthyism and Communism, but ended supporting McCarthy's war and trying to justify that war in the face of his acknowledgment that the millions in the colonies are fighting against hunger.

According to Reuther, the Communists are fooling the people with clever slogans, and what we have to do is get in there and show them how we can "iron out the wrinkles in their bellies" and give them their freedom at the same time. On the one hand, he uses the temporary leadership of the Communist Parties as an excuse for fighting the colonial people; and on the other hand he recognizes that the backward areas are struggling against poverty and tyranny.

"Communism did not start the revolution," he said, "but is riding on the backs of hungry people." He finds himself in such a contradiction because he is committed to supporting a war of the bosses and bankers; yet he gets his position and his salary because he is the head of the largest union in the world.

WAR-MADE JOBS

Reuther says that our productive facilities can banish world-wide hunger, disease and ignorance, but bemoans the fact that we have to use most of our production for war. At the same time, he showed that the unemployment problem was never solved; that "Hitler put our unemployed back to work" in 1939 because of World War II, and that in Jan. 1950 the rapidly growing unemployed army was again put to work on war orders as a result of the Korean War.

He asks for "equality of sacrifice," but in the next breath calls taxes "economically stupid" and "morally wrong" because the poor are carrying an unfair share of their burden and the rich can save millions of dollars through various "gimmicks" in the tax laws.

He asks for defense of civil rights, pointing out that two-thirds of the people of the world are dark skinned. He showed that the Chinese worker will not believe that the U.S. is fighting for democracy when he hears about cases like that of Corporal Rice, the American Indian who was killed in Korea and was refused burial here because the cemetery had a policy of burying only whites. Reuther had to admit that there is a great difference between the noble promises of the government and its ugly practices.

REUTHER'S LINE

What solution does this labor statesman offer? He says that the good Democrats and good Republicans do not belong with the reactionaries of both parties. We have to get out and vote for the right people. He seems to forget that the so-called liberal capitalists like Roosevelt and Truman got us into war. He never even mentioned the need of labor to have its own political party, for if he did, he could no longer keep his middle of the road position.

The political thinking of this prominent labor leader proves the statement of the Socialist Workers Party that the crisis of the world today is the crisis of leadership. Instead of leading the powerful working class of America towards independent political action, Reuther finds himself begging the capitalists to reform; in other words, he wants the capitalists to stop being capitalists.

Philip Frankfeld, Smith Act Victim, Expelled By C.P.

The Communist Party of Maryland-District of Columbia announced on Thursday, March 6 that it had expelled Phil Frankfeld, one of the defendants in the Smith Act trial that opened in Baltimore on the Monday following the expulsion announcement. Frankfeld had been a member of the Communist Party for 30 years, and a party functionary in New England, Scranton, Pittsburgh, Seattle, Baltimore and Cleveland over the period of the past 20 years.

Frankfeld was charged with holding a "defeatist" position; according to a **Daily Worker** statement on March 7, he held that "fascism is already a reality in the United States and that the complete destruction of democratic rights is inevitable."

Further charges are that Frankfeld "exhibited the rankest white chauvinism," that, as a party leader he had "operated in the most egocentric and bureaucratic fashion," and that "comrades expressing a difference of opinion (with Frankfeld) found themselves in all sorts of difficulties and subjected to a variety of serious accusations, including disloyalty to the Party and the working class."

In addition, Frankfeld was charged with "moral degeneracy and corruption," forcing "his attentions on a number of women," "factionalism," circulating a pamphlet expressing his disagreements with the leadership, etc.

Witch Hunters Plan Eviction of "Reds" in Detroit

DETROIT — **Individuals and their families are finding their jobs, education, and even their homes imperiled because of the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee held here recently. Persons who were called before the Committee and refused to turn stoolpigeon are he targets of an all-sided persecution.**

The Detroit Common Council has ordered the City Housing Commission to try to find some pretext for the eviction of so-called "reds" from city housing projects. Most immediate target is William Allan, **Daily Worker** correspondent. The commission finds itself temporarily stymied, since there are no technical grounds for evicting him, his wife and 2 children. He was found to be a model tenant, quiet, prompt with his rent, and well liked by his neighbors.

The second intended victim is Gus Jurist, who lives in a veterans' Quonset unit, and is chairman of a tenant council. The housing commission describes him as "the leader of a group which successfully fought a 20% rent increase in city-owned projects."

Since there is no rule barring tenants from city projects because of political belief, the city administration has been restrained from any immediate action. The witch hunters have stated: "To date, we have found no way to evict communists from the projects, although the Office of Rent Stabilization says we can evict them if we have a rule barring them from tenancy. The problem now is how to get the Public Housing Administration to approve such a rule."

Meanwhile a Wayne University co-ed has been suspended by the college administration because she refused to answer questions put to her by counsel of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Mrs. Lorraine Faxon Meisner, 21, suffered a halt in her education only a few hours after leaving the "witness stand."

Mrs. Meisner, appearing in response to a subpoena, invoked the constitutional provision protecting citizens from forced self-incrimination in refusing to answer questions. Wayne President David D. Henry immediately found her guilty of unspecified crimes, calling her stand "prima facie admission of criminal action."

The Negro Struggle

Quiz for Unionists

By Jean Blake

The American way of life has so effectively segregated Negro and white workers that one of the first tasks in breaking the old patterns and winning equal job opportunities for Negroes is to make their white fellow workers conscious that discrimination exists.

When the problem is discussed, many white workers point to the fact that their unions admit Negroes to membership; they cite "civil rights conferences" sponsored by their CIO district or regional office, speeches made by union leaders at conventions, or union pamphlets supporting Fair Employment Practices legislation, and conclude that Jim Crow has been licked in their unions.

Actually, a much closer examination of the conditions in their plants and unions is necessary, before they can appreciate the many forms that discrimination takes and what can be done to fight it effectively through the unions.

Here are just a few of the questions workers should ask themselves if they want to build strong unions capable of facing the employers' attacks with a solid and united membership:

1. Are Negroes in our plant employed in all classifications? If not, why not? Are there "Negro jobs" and "white jobs"? Is there hiring without discrimination, or are there special requirements that bar colored workers from some types of work?
2. Is upgrading, overtime work and preferred shift assignment completely impartial and fair?
3. Do lay-offs and terminations hit Negro workers harder than the rest, and if so, what is the union doing to change that pattern?
4. Is there any difference in the facilities in the plant that are available to Negro and white workers — rest rooms, lockers, showers, cafeterias, etc.?
5. Is the union fighting all forms of job discrimination through contract demands, grievance procedure, publicity, direct action?
6. Do Negro members serve in union posts on all levels — shop stewards, committees, executive board, officers? If not, why not? Are Negroes limited to special posts, such as FEPC committees, stewards for Negroes only, or for white workers too?
7. Has the union achieved full participation of its members without discrimination in its meetings, picnics, social events, etc.?
8. Does the union take a firm stand against discrimination or does it back down when ignorant white workers or bosses' stooges attempt to stir up prejudice against colored workers?
9. Does the union leadership recognize the right of Negro workers, just as any other group with special grievances, to caucus to formulate their demands and seek redress for wrongs, or does it attack them for criticizing?

There has been a lot of talk lately about the "progress" being made in wiping out Jim Crow in America. Examples are given of a few more privileges granted here and there to the privileged individuals among the Negro people — another teacher, another government flunkey, another sports or entertainment world hero. But the real test and measure of progress is not what has been gained for the exceptions, but what is the rule, what gains have been made for the huge majority.

For the overwhelming majority of Negroes victories against discrimination in other fields are empty unless equal opportunities to work and to struggle together with the rest of the working class for a better life is guaranteed.

Many Negro — and white — leaders emphasize the importance of education in ridding people of the prejudices they acquire in our society. That is correct. Re-education is necessary for most white Americans. But their classroom is the place where they work and their union. That is where workers learn most convincingly that they have common interests and bonds stronger than any differences.

A shop steward we know in a Detroit auto plant recently told of an incident that illustrates this. A white woman worker called him on the phone one day to report a grievance that she wanted the union to act on. He asked her whether she had taken it to the union steward.

"Oh, no," she replied. "He's a colored fellow."

"Well, this is that 'colored fellow,'" he told her.

The white woman had to decide right then and there whether she wanted that "colored fellow" to defend her rights as a worker or whether she wanted to hold on to her precious prejudice and let the company take advantage of her.

* * *

In connection with the recent discussion in this column of the Jim Crow attitude of Donovan, the Steel Workers district director in the Cleveland area, we heard a reaction that we think should be answered.

One reader asked, "Is it wise to criticize the Steel Workers at this time, when they are engaged in a fight with the companies which requires the greatest amount of solidarity and unity in the ranks?"

Our answer is that it is not our discussion, but Donovan's discriminatory policies that weaken the union, divide its members, and hurt the effectiveness of the current negotiations. The object of focusing attention on the internal weakness is to encourage action to correct the situation so that the union will be a stronger agency for struggle in the interest of all its members.

It is in the same spirit that we urge all white workers to examine the situation in their plants and unions to see whether they are doing all they can to fight Jim Crow through their unions.

A Breath of Fresh Air

By Jean Simon

There are some aspects of the recent national tour by the editor of the **Fourth International**, George Clarke, that can't be reported in terms of the number of people at meetings, the size of collections, the amount of applause, or the questions asked in the discussion period. Not even choice excerpts from the speech, or reproduction of the full text could indicate the impression that it made on audiences throughout the country.

For many of us Clarke's talk was a breath of fresh air — facts and an analysis of the cold war and a perspective that cuts through the barrage of lies, propaganda and the smug, narrow-minded nationalism that we get every day in the newspapers, on the radio and in conversations that parrot the orthodox capitalist line.

For a change, we heard a vivid, first-hand description of what people in Europe are thinking and doing about world events. We could understand how they feel about problems that scarcely touch us in our isolated daily life of eating, sleeping, going to work or to school, filling out income tax forms, and figuring angles to "beat the system."

When Clarke described the May Day demonstrations in Paris, the battle of the Algerian freedom marchers with the French police, we could feel the spirit of people ready to fight for liberty — not just to make speeches about it on the Fourth of July.

When he showed us the French magazine which reproduced the fantastic issue of **Colliers** with its Orson Welles men-from-Mars story of the occupation of the Soviet Union by American forces, we were able to see it through European eyes. It was no longer a journalistic gag. We could feel the horror they must feel — that Americans are like children playing with a shiny new toy, but one that happens to be the atom bomb.

And when he described the breadth and the depth of the anti-capitalist mass movements in Asia, Africa and Europe, and the attempts of Eisenhower and the American labor leaders chasing all over the world trying to put out the revolutionary fires with dollar bills, it was not hard to understand the contempt European workers must have for both the policy-makers of American imperialism and their lackeys in the labor movement.

Clarke's talk made many listeners self-conscious as Americans, of how we look to the rest of the world — young and rich, but not too smart, blind to the facts of life in the coming showdown on a world scale.

He gave us a sense of where we fit in with the main stream of developments in the world, not only numerically and geographically but also historically. He made it clear that the United States is the only spot left on the globe where even the capitalist class still thinks it has a future. Clarke compared the events of the period of the great French Revolution with the wave of anti-imperialist uprisings and anti-capitalist struggles today. He showed that the role of the American government today is as reactionary and futile in trying to revive dying capitalism as were those forces trying to preserve feudalism when capitalism was on the order of the day. Humpty-dumpty capitalism has had its great fall, and Washington is still trying to put it together again.

Finally, with its picture of the real social forces in our changing world — the powerful class forces — Clarke's analysis deflated the bogeyman balloon of Stalinism. Reactionary policies of the Kremlin can no more "contain" the socialist revolution than can Washington.

Another very refreshing aspect of the Clarke tour at this time was that we saw a straightforward revolutionary socialist standing up and telling the truth, not crawling, hiding, dissembling or apologizing. Students in his campus audiences knew they were hearing a different view, a nonconformist interpretation of world events that gave them some new ideas to consider. Liberals saw a genuine radical defying all the capitalist taboos and taking for granted his right to disagree.

And all people, concerned about guarding our civil liberties, were heartened by seeing a man guarding them in the most effective way — by using them for the purpose of preserving and extending our right to fight for a better world.

Notes from the News

HEAT ON WSB GETS RESULTS. . . Approximately 100,000 employes of Westinghouse and GE staged a work stoppage March 4 to force the Wage Stabilization Board to approve 2½ per cent wage increases won from the companies as long as six months ago. Within 48 hours the WSB capitulated and okayed the increase. Both IUE-CIO and UE locals participated in the stoppage. UE proposals for a united stoppage had been previously rejected by the IUE-CIO.

* * *

NATURALLY. . . Among books banned from school libraries by the witch-hunting New York Board of Education was "Witch Hunt" by Carey McWilliams.

* * *

HOW REACTIONARY CAN A LIBERAL BE? . . . Senator Paul ("Drop the A-Bomb Now") Douglas of Illinois is still urging that General Eisenhower be the presidential candidate of both the Democratic and the Republican parties. This would be an ideal way to start a military regime in the country. Next step would be to urge that elections be dispensed with as an economy measure.

* * *

PROGRESSIVE PARTY CANDIDATES. . . The candidates committee of what used to be Henry Wallace's party indicates that its presidential and vice-presidential candidates will be Vincent Hallinan, West Coast Labor lawyer, who defended Harry Bridges, and Mrs. Charlotta Bass, one-time publisher of the Negro newspaper, California Eagle.

* * *

ASSOCIATED FARMERS WOULD FURTHER LIBERATE KOREANS. . . The AFL National Farm Labor Union is protesting a plan of the union-hating farm corporations known as Associated Farmers to import South Koreans into California as cheap labor. Since Associated Farmers have been paying Mexican "wetback" laborers five cents an hour they apparently figure on paying the "liberated" Koreans less.

* * *

AND HOW MANY HONEST MEN? . . . A breakdown of the previous occupations of the members of the House of Representatives shows: 77 were bankers and business men. 244 were lawyers, principally corporation lawyers. 26 were newspaper publishers or advertising hucksters. 23 allegedly were farmers — mostly "gentlemen farmers" who never get their hands dirty. 62 were professional men and former government employes. Only **eight** had been wage earners and union members. Remember that saying about "government of the people and by the people?"

* * *

SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL. . . Following are some figures on the amount of money spent yearly for educational purposes by Southern states: South Carolina — $57 per white child, $15 per Negro child; Mississippi $52 and $7; Georgia $56 and $17; Louisiana $77 and $20.

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by

LEON TROTSKY

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